42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

843
262
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From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

The *saxádaw*, which has a yellow skin;

The *lokóg*, with a dark-purple skin;

The *banótān*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

The *dokkasi*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;

The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;

The *lippokán* (Iloko: *alimúkeñ*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud or cabbage (*baraníbād*) of the fish-tail palm (*aníboñ*, Caryota cumingii. Lodd.).

The *tobál* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

843
262

From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *tobál*.

184

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

843

A pregnant (*nabu-sit*; *bu-sit*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksit*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *sikúg*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirát*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

[551]

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of O dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.
601 *Anánà-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.
192 *Anánà-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Mazabilin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Monongósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Poñanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kán* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pañ* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialit ya ñáxanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

not bother him, do not bring him in your midst, he is all right where he is. Pronouncing his name or bringing him into your presence is one and the same thing after all, therefore do not pronounce his name, at least if you are related to him, you at least should "pity him". Never mind if a stranger pronounces his name, he has no business with that dead person and does not care. But you, his relative, leave him at rest.

Of course, in all this only the words inclosed within quotation marks are Isneg explanations, the rest are mine; but I think I have not been far from the truth in my endeavors to show what was going on in the mind of the Isneg. Besides, the above are only two out of many examples that serve to prove the importance of a name and its meaning to an Isneg. In the following paragraphs many confirmations will be found of the same,—for instance, the preference given to names of people renowned for their bravery or old age, and so on.

Now, when is a child given its name? By whom? And what kind of a name is given?

These questions might be answered briefly and truly like this:

When? Immediately after birth.

By whom? By anybody around.

What name? Any name that sounds all right.

But such answers look very unsatisfactory. Let us give a few explanations.

The child is given its name immediately after birth. The reason, as given by the Isneg themselves, is lest some spirit take it upon himself to give it a name. And then? Well, I think the Isneg do not reason any further; maybe they know no case in which an *anito* gave a child its name, and so what could they answer? But I think that from his own point of view the Isneg is quite right after all, although perhaps actually unaware of it. Indeed if a child were given its name by a spirit, would it not be given its personality or something very much akin to it by that same spirit? And in such a case would the spirit not have all power upon that child? And who ever heard of a spirit doing good to a mortal being, except under compulsion, through some magical performance or other stratagem? And so the Isneg do not take any chances: they give their babe its name and claim it as their own as soon as possible, to the exclusion of all malevolent *anito*.

Anybody is allowed to propose a name for the child, and, if it proves acceptable, the baby will be known by that name from now on,

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

553 whoever be the person who suggested it. It is very clear though that the relatives, especially the old women, the more so if a shaman is among the latter, have a deciding vote in the matter, and that, in case of disagreement, an Isneg shaman or other old woman decides the question. But such occurrences must be rare, as the Isneg do not mind so much by what name their children are called provided [856] they have one at the earliest opportunity. The parents, however, usually refrain from giving their child its name, as they believe that in such a case the baby would not grow up or at least would grow very slowly.

553 When baptizing an Isneg baby, we always give him some Christian
177 name of course, and I know of very few cases in which I myself was not called upon to choose the name in question. Sometimes I had to
● 551 suggest several names, as some of them did not prove acceptable, but
795 for this there was usually no other reason than that they were too hard for the Isneg either to pronounce or to remember. This new name is generally faithfully adhered to, although the original Isneg name is rarely forgotten and sometimes even remains preponderant; indeed a name is something much too important not to be taken into consideration. Actually many Isneg babies get a Christian name as their proper name from the outset, and so all difficulties and equivocations are eliminated at once.

That this indifference exists not only with reference to the name of a child that has to be baptized, but even with reference to the first name of any newborn babe, is evident from the fact that Christian Iloko or Kagayan school teachers are often called upon to suggest a name for the little one. So, at Ampaw for instance, which is a small agglomeration not so far from Nagbabalayan, we find a little boy called *Mabini*, a name proposed by the teacher of the last-mentioned place at the suggestion of the father; now, even without knowing the person who gave the name, it is patent that such a name could not have been given by Isneg, as it is the family name of Mr. Apolinario Mabini, a Filipino hero of revolutionary war fame, of whom our Isneg know nothing at all. To complete the matter, I called the boy Apolinario at baptism.

551 It may be seen even from the above that any name will do. Nevertheless the Isneg also have their preference, and this especially in regard to three classes of names:

1. Names that have become traditional among the Isneg, "old names" as they call them. For instance *Súxăy*, which has no known

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

meaning, but is very popular I know of five men called by that name: two at Bayag, one at Dagara, one at Karagawan and one at Baliwanan. 551

2. Names of renowned warriors, *mẽńal* (brave), men who have taken many heads. So a Karagawan boy was called *Mańasó* after a Bolo warrior, although both villages are rather far apart from one another; a Musimut boy was called *Pátań* after one of his ancestors, also a renowned head hunter. Both names have no known meaning. 551 789

3. Names of people who have attained a ripe old age. The Isneg, to use their own expression, "are loath to relegate those names to oblivion" (*magkekẽńa*, from *kẽńa*, "alas"). Names of children who have died a premature death are never chosen, at least when the fact of their short lives is known to the interested party; indeed it may happen that in a certain locality a person called by a certain name has become very old, while another one born in some other place and called by the same name has died an early death, and that the people who have to choose the name for a newborn babe do not know of both cases: then of course only the fact known to them is taken into consideration.

At this juncture it should be noted that the same names recur at every step all over the Isneg district: they are probably very popular for one of the reasons given above, and the personality and inherent qualities are supposed to be transferred to the child together with the name. Nevertheless it should not be inferred from this that the Isneg believe in metempsychosis: no such belief exists in the whole Apayaw district. [828]

Just to give a few examples. M stands for "male"; F for "female". 551

Sabadáw (M): at Bayag, Madatag, Pili, Musimut, Nagsimbanan, Kumaw, Agnoan (Kabugaw), Magububung.

Púdo- (M): at Abbil, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Baliwanan, Genned, two at Alumani.

Dẽmáy (F): at Musimut, Dagara, Nagbabalayan, Baduat, Karagawan, Bolo.

Agsdyań (M): at Mayaw, Musimut, Nagbabalayan, Nagsimbanan, Baduat.

Alább (M): at Madatag, Dagara, Pasiyab, Nagsimbanan.

Búsiń (M): at Nagsimbanan, Magapta, Bolo, Katablangan.

Kabagiyát (M): at Baliwanan, Kumaw, Karagawan, Bolo.

Láyldy (M): at Madatag, Musimut, Kabaknan, Bolo.

Asáp (M or F): at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Madatag, Baliwanan, Alumani.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Imeg

551 *Alúnăy* (F) : at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Madatag, Lukab, Magapta.
Ladó (F) : at Madatag, Lukab, Kumaw, Alumani.
Makanóń (F) : at Abbil, Musimut, Waga, Tawit.
Rián (F) : two at Musimut, at Dagara, Nagbabalayan.
Banáwal (M) : at Dagara, Kumaw, Magapta.
Dawwán (M) : at Madatag, Kabaknan, Bolo.
Xádăy (M) : at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Karagawan, Bolo.
Kadári (M) : at Baliwanan, Karagawan, Lettuakan.
Kalásiyo (M) : at Bayag, Bolo, Turatok.
Laxi-nắy (M) : at Bayag, Baduat, Bolo.
Mélad (M) : at Kabugawan, Nagbabalayan, Lettuakan.
Pa-rá́y (M) : at Nagbabalayan, Bolo, Tawit.
Pátań (M) : at Pili, Musimut, Nagbabalayan.
Puglá́y (M) : at Bayag, Abbil, Kabaknan.
Bańón (M or F) : at Magapta. Waga, Talifugu.
Annawán (F) : at Lukab, Kumaw, Bolo.
Bakkuwá́y (F) : at Maduang, Nagbabalayan, Kumaw.
Bannáw (F) : at Madatag, Lettuakan, Bolo.
Bańgít (F) : at Musimut, Kabaknan, Karagawan.
Billíń (F) : at Lukab, Kabaknan, Baduat.
Dúpan (F) : at Pili, Bolo, Talifugu.
Xinaudán (F) : at Dallawas, Baduat, Bolo.
Abgáw (M) : two at Bolo.
Bắydán (M) : at Alumani, Tawit.
Bélan (M) : at Kumaw, Tawit.
Búńa (M) : at Dibagat, Bolo.
Élat (M) : at Nagbabalayan, Nagsimbanan.
Xammád (M) : at Baliwanan, Lako.
Kasixá́y (M) : at Bayugaw, Pitpita (Karagawan).
Magdólon (M) : at Madatag, Bolo.
Páloy (M) : at Pili, Nagsimbanan.
Patá́y (M) : at Baliwanan, Alumani.
Póyo (M) : at Apadi, Kumaw.
Sawít (M) : at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Alumani.
Tandí (M) : at Abbil, Kumaw.
Ul-úl (M) : at Tuyangan, Kumaw.
Allapá́y (F) : at Nagilian (Namaltugan), Musimut.
Bégu (F) : at Ripang, Tawini.
Lébas (F) : at Ripang, Pagdawan.
Mámaw (F) : at Nagbabalayan, Tawit.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Another set of names has to do with certain happenings or other circumstances of time or place connected with the birth of a child, as has been hinted at before. For instance, when *Kábo*, a Nagbabalayan boy was born, it happened that one of the corporals (Spanish *cabo*) of the constabulary passed through that settlement at the time; and a boy who was born at Abbil while some people from Claveria were staying at his father's house, was called by the name of that town. But I do not believe this to be so exceedingly common,—at least actually, the more so that names with a known meaning are comparatively rare. I say "actually", because names that have no meaning at present may have had one before: the language of the Isneg has not remained stationary, any more than has that of other peoples. In Kankanay songs for instance, one encounters lots of antiquated words, some whose meaning is still known, although other terms have actually taken their place in popular language, and others whose meaning has been forgotten and lost for ever.

It may also happen of course that a certain name, now meaningless, was given for some circumstance that has since been forgotten; but on the other hand it is also far from sure that all names that have a known meaning were given for such a reason. I only mention here the name of *Mabíni* related before: the name has a meaning, but it was given merely at the suggestion of a teacher. So after all very few conclusions can be drawn from the fact that a name has a meaning or no meaning. Indeed, let us suppose that a certain *Súxăy* (no meaning) passes through the village at the time of the birth of a boy; that boy will perhaps be called *Súxăy*, and after a very short lapse of time the whole occurrence will be forgotten, as *Súxăy* is a very popular name among the Isneg.

Here may be mentioned some of the native Isneg names that have a meaning:

Balás (M): lemon.
Basáń (M): ginger.
Udán (M): rain.
Ósań (M or F): bagasse.
Adás (F): a kind of sedge, Scleria sp.; its leaves have very sharp
Barańdy (F): canoe.
Barańdy (F): canoe.
Baló (F): stone.
Dódon (F): locust.
Xabí (F): night

43: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

551 *Xídam* (F): evening
104 *Múmaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.
192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 177 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *José* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M); at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustina* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Eufina* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Verón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Asiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag: after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Dison (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dizon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. García of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

551

Inaíso (M), at Lukab: after Mr. Eneiso, a municipal treasurer.
Kôner (M), at Nagbabalayan, at Ripang and at Tawit: after Mr. Norman G. Connor, the second lieutenant-governor of Apayaw.
Líñan (M), at Bolo: a soldier.
Makánas (M), at Bolo: a nurse.
Mína (M), a Bolo: formerly connected with the Bureau of Public Works.
Siddāyáw (M), at Nagbabalayan: soldier.
Tagubá (M), at Bolo and at Tawit: a nurse.

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Titles:

Bokonadôr (M), at Nagsimbanan: vaccinator (Spanish: *vacunador*).
Fôrman (M), at Bubulayan: the title by which the chief inspector of roads is known all over the district
Kábo (M), at Nagbabalayan: corporal (Spanish: *cabo*)
Meistará (F), at Abbil, at Maduang and at Kabetayan (Kabugaw): lady teacher (Spanish: *maestra*).

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Just to show how little the Isneg sometimes care for the kind of name that is given to their offspring, I merely mention here the name *Sentávo* (Spanish *centavo*, a copper coin worth one half cent), which is most certainly not a very precious one. You can meet a Mr. *Sentávo* at Madatag and one at Ampaw.

[184]

In general it must be said that a definite set of names is the exclusive property of boys, and that another set is particular to girls. Nevertheless it may happen that a certain name is given to boys in some localities, while in others the same one is given to girls.

So we have *Asáp*, which is the name of three girls I know, one at Nagilian (Namaltugan), one at Madatag, and one at Alumani, while a Baliwanan boy is called by the same name.

Bañón: two girls: one at Magapta and one at Waga; a boy at Talifugu.

Éba: a girl at Lukab; a boy at Karagawan.

Luwé-: a girl at Nagbabalayan; a boy at Lako.

Ósañ: a girl at Nagilian (Namaltugan); a boy at Lukab.

Pili: a girl at Nagbabalayan; boy at Maduang.

At Nagbabalayan there is a man called *Báñan*, which is the name of the most popular heroine of Kankanay tales.

But such coincidences are of comparatively rare occurrence.

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And now I come to the question of changing the name given at birth. All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans,

171

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

553 among Iloko and Kagayan who have been Christians for centuries, as well as among the tribes that inhabit the Mountain Province and some 171 of whom have started embracing Christianity only comparatively recently, the Negritos alone excepted, the custom of changing the name of a person at the time of prolonged or dangerous sickness is almost universal, to the dismay of Government officials and Church dignitaries, as such a practice brings nothing but confusion in the records, especially among pagan tribes, who have not yet adopted family names and continue to give each individual his own special personal name. I have discussed sufficiently the ideas of the Isneg about the matter, at the beginning of my treatment about Isneg names, without having to explain them any further, but some other points should be considered here.

553 Some Isneg keep their original name all through life, others have it changed once or twice, rarely more often. The change usually 551 takes place in infancy, more rarely in youth, and no ceremonies seem to be connected with the same: everything happens as in the case of the giving of the first name immediately after birth. It may happen also, in a few isolated cases, that a man or a woman of mature age gets or takes another name. So, at Kumaw, a girl called *Uńăy* gave the name of her father as *Bélan*, at the time of her baptism, a few years ago, while that same man is known all over the municipal district as *Okkóń*. Although it seems that the fellow must already have been called *Okkóń* at the time of the baptism of his daughter, who was married recently, his old name *Bélan* must have clung to him for a long time, otherwise his daughter would not have known it.

The most important reason for changing a name is, as has been stated repeatedly, the sickness of the child (*séno mawĕ ya takít*, "so that sickness go away") A few Isneg have their name changed once or twice merely through caprice, whether it be a whim of their own or one of their parents (in case they are still small): a certain name comes to their mind, for one reason or another that name catches their fancy and ends by pleasing them, and away goes the old name; the new name will be adopted from now on as the distinctive appellation of the girl or boy in question.

551 At least in the municipal district of Conner, and perhaps also 168 elsewhere, a very serious reason for changing the name of a baby is the death of one of its parents. As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, the Isneg have a certain fear of the dead and usually prefer that they stay where they are: they do not want them to interfere

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

with the affairs of the living. Now in this case the Isneg deem it very probable that the dead parent will continue to be fond of his child, and perhaps try to approach it and fondle it, as he was wont to do before his death; but this must inevitably be exceedingly detrimental to the well-being of the little one, so the best way to prevent all such dangerous trifling is to change the name of the infant in question, in order to force the soul of the dead parent to forget all about his offspring. He will be looking for the babe under its old name, but here the living will have got the better of him: the new name, the new personality of the little one, will completely baffle the all-too-fond parent, and the living will be rid of the annoying interference of the dead. *Séno maligpandn nāyá kaduduwána ya ńázan nāyá ababbíń*, "So that his soul forget the name of the child": this was the reason for the custom given me by the Isneg themselves. What would be the use of making the dead forget the name of the child if "name" was not more or less synonymous with "personality"?

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Formerly a stranger travelling in Apayaw must forcibly have been struck by the reluctance of the Isneg to tell his name. I say "formerly", as nowadays the Isneg has been obliged to tell his name on so many different occasions, for instance at school, in the judgment hall, and so on, that this reluctance is fast disappearing. However, it is still to be found in many remote corners, and more especially with grown-up and old men and women: when you ask their name they invariably tell some companion to answer you in their stead. Just exactly what is the reason of this I have not yet been able to ascertain; when questioned about it, the Isneg either deny the custom altogether, if they are not very familiar with you, or else say that they are ignorant of the reason of its existence.

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The same reticence takes place with reference to the names of the dead: this has been touched upon before, and the reason, as explained by the Isneg, has been given at the same time. The prohibition of telling the name of a dead person does not last indefinitely, nor does it equally affect all persons. When some time has elapsed since the death of a certain Isneg whose name you would like to know, your informant will usually say: "*Natdyyin* (he is dead already)", with a look of wonder on his face, as if to say: "What is the use of wanting to know his name, he is dead already, he has lost his name together with his life"; but if you insist, he will give it seemingly without difficulty. So also unrelated persons are much less reluctant than near relatives, when there is question of telling the name of the dead. Be-

551 769

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

551 769 sides, I have experienced that old men and women usually give the name very readily, although they be related to the person in question. That such a prohibition does not last indefinitely, even with the relatives of the deceased, is corroborated by the fact that the names of persons who were renowned for one reason or another during their lifetime, are often preferred when there is question of giving a little babe its first name: and it is far from unusual to encounter an Isneg youngster called after one of his own ancestors.

551 606 553 Then there are the names of the father-in-law and of the mother-in-law (*kalnxánan*), which may never be pronounced under any pretext. Up to this day very few Isneg, even among those who have been in contact with civilization for a long time, are bold enough to discard all fear on the subject and to pronounce them. This is especially apparent at the baptism of a child, when we record the names of its parents and grandparents: it very often happens that only one of the parents accompanies the baby that has to be christened, and this is a source of many difficulties, if there is no other person at hand who is acquainted with the names of the parents of the absent party. . In case one of the persons whose names have to be recorded is dead, one can get at his name after comparatively little urging, but the name of a father-in-law or a mother-in-law, that never.

551 606 And why? The Isneg mostly do not know or pretend not to know the reason: sometimes they say that, if they pronounce any of these names, their children will die, but such an answer is always accompanied by the term *kanó*, "it is said". But why should their children die? The whole question is probably shrouded in mystery even to the Isneg themselves; but one thing is certain: an almost insurmountable fear must have been instilled into them from time immemorial, while the real reason, the death penalty inflicted on the offspring of the offender, a penalty inflicted by *unito* of course, if this is the real reason, may have been forgotten either entirely or almost so by the majority of the natives. This fear must have been exceedingly great indeed in order to have the custom remain so persistently and so universally, even after the real explanation has been lost sight of. And that the Isneg have forgotten it, I am rather inclined to believe; I have been able to enter deeply into many matters much more delicate than the one in question, and although this has been done sometimes with no little difficulty, I usually have obtained what I wanted, but here the interrogation mark has so far remained as it was. Or is this a matter much more delicate in the eyes of the Isneg than

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg
Northern Filipinos OA29

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606
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many another one that might seem to be so from a Caucasian's point of view?

In this connection I should be allowed to explain a superstition that is current among Christian Iloko. It refers to the name of the mother of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Many old Iloko women persist in denying this title to St. Ann. "Saint Ann", they say, "is the mother of Saint Elizabeth; but the name of the mother of our Lady is not Ann. We are not allowed to pronounce it; whoever does so under ordinary circumstances dies an instantaneous death. When somebody is on his deathbed, the priest whispers that name to him, and if the dying person pronounces it and at the same time recites thirteen times the Hail Holy Queen or Salve Regina, he will go straight to heaven."

Now you may laugh at this superstition, you may preach against it, you may exhaust all your knowledge and eloquence in order to prove its silliness, you may even fly into a passion, but the old women will answer you unperturbed: "Never mind, we know what we are talking about. You see, you yourself do not tell us anything about that name, because you know very well that you would die if you dared to pronounce it out of season". And make an old Iloko woman change her mind!

They even go further than that. One day, while I was rector of the parish at Bangar (1916-1921), my laundress became dangerously ill. One of her relatives having come to call me, I immediately went to her house, but when I reached the place, she had already become unconscious. I ministered to her as is customary under the circumstances, and finally left her seemingly in a hopeless condition. But the old girl was not yet ready to give up the strife, and after a couple of weeks she fully recovered. She had barely been able to move around for a few days, when she started telling anybody who wanted to hear about it that, at the time of my visit, I had whispered to her the name of Mary's mother.

After such an experience I thought it my duty to try all possible means in order to put a stop to this absurdity. Not a few of my parishioners evidently knew the name in question and it might perhaps be possible to learn all about it: then I would pronounce it in season and out of season, and show to everybody's satisfaction that the whole affair was nothing but a silly superstition. But it took me more time than I had anticipated in order to get hold of that elusive name; the women did not want to risk their life by telling me, and besides they

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Ineg
Northern Filipinos OA2

N 551 602 776 811

were firmly convinced that I knew at least as much as they did. Fortunately my persistent efforts in that direction were finally crowned with success, and I came to learn that famous name, which was supposed to be known to all priests, but could not be pronounced by them except at the deathbed of one of their charges, and which was considered as the appellation of our Lady's mother: an old Iloko woman whispered it to me after I had promised her very solemnly that I took all responsibility upon myself, and after I had assured her most emphatically that no harm would accrue to her on account of her indiscretion.

Now that name was, as she pronounced it, *Adúnay*, nothing else but a Hebrew name for God, correctly Adonai. The next Sunday I announced from the pulpit that the whole story was humbug pure and simple, and to prove it I pronounced the name and explained it. All the time I could observe several old women in the congregation who did nothing but cross themselves whenever I pronounced that "sacred" name: they were probably very much concerned about my safety and thought perhaps that I should fall dead at any moment. But had I been able to eradicate this absurd superstition once for all, at least among my own people? Not a bit. The women were ready at once with explanations of their own: my case was a special one; anybody else of course who dared pronounce that name would die a certain death. Maybe they thought that I carried some famous amulet on my person, something which was known only to me and which would preserve me from all harm. Such an explanation on their part should not be wondered at, as I have been credited with bilocation, with the power of passing roaring torrents at a jump, and other nonsense.

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But to return to our Isneg: might it not be possible that there is some connection between the two beliefs? Indeed in both cases the penalty of death is supposed to follow in the wake of the pronunciation of a certain name: in the case of the Isneg, the pronunciation of the name of the father-in-law or the mother-in-law entails the death of the offender's offspring; in that of the Iloko, the person who dares pronounce out of season the name of the mother of our Lady is punished by death. It goes without saying that the latter belief cannot be justified by anything and is nothing else but gross superstition, as the Iloko have been Christians for centuries, and besides the belief in question could not have evolved into its present state except among a Christianized people.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalōbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Asiyo*, etc.

isán and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *iníń*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Asiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive